

“In Between” East and West: Osman Kalin’s Baumhaus an der Mauer

DIYA RADHAKRISHNA, *New York University*

Abstract

This article explores how Turkish immigrant-built spaces subverted the social and national borders of divided Berlin and Germany. Using the case study of Berlin’s Baumhaus an der Mauer – the “Treehouse at the Wall”, this article argues that a Turkish immigrant-built space came to hold a local significance unanticipated by the East and West German states. Investigated using “ruderal urban ecology”, the study of urban ecosystems arising out of rubble, the Baumhaus shows how inclusive, diverse communal spaces may develop despite the exclusionary practices and nation-state borders that immigrant navigate. This article also analyzes the Baumhaus as a space indicative of the “transmigrant”, a phenomenon where aspects of the country of origin and destination come together to expand personal and collective immigrant identities, and the dilemma that arises when commemorating these common- hybrid experiences.

keywords: Turkey, Germany, Berlin Wall, German Reunification, Ruderal Ecology, Immigration, Transnationalism



Baumhaus an der Mauer

The German phrase *Baumhaus an der Mauer* directly translates to “treehouse at the Wall”. It refers to a plot of land comprising a garden and shed, planted and built by the Turkish immigrant “guest worker” Osman Kalin during his retirement. The site gets its name from its physical location right next to the outer border of the Berlin Wall on the West German side of divided Berlin; however, geopolitically, the *Baumhaus* was located in territory belonging to East Berlin.

In this article, I attempt to understand the impact of the migrants on the host country, and vice versa, through observing the case study of the *Baumhaus* as the meeting point of the German and Turkish cultures. This article provides the context of Germany’s post Second World War division as well as the geopolitical and economic circumstances leading to an influx of Turkish immigrants to West Germany through the guest worker program. Then, the story of the *Baumhaus* is put together utilizing personal and press interviews with the creator’s granddaughter, Funda Kalin. The site is analyzed as an example of a ruderal ecosystem using anthropologist Bettina Stoetzer’s work and sociologist Ayhan Kaya’s observations on Turkish-German identity—an identity both influenced by, yet independent of, both cultures and histories. Hence, I analyze the *Baumhaus* formation in the given context to reach a plausible conclusion regarding the stance of the “in-between” identity. The paper then closes with an exposition of the conundrums associated with commemorating this hybrid identity such as the dilemma of deciding who is assigned the responsibility of preserving the *Baumhaus*.

Background: Post-Second World War Germany and Immigrant Experiences of Divided Berlin

The arrival of immigrants to Germany was shaped by the events of the Second World War. The end of the War left Germany devastated and divided into four occupation zones under British, American, French and Soviet Russian rule. In 1945, the U.S.-backed Federal Republic of Germany or FRG (West Germany) was created on May 23rd. This was followed by the Soviet-backed German Democratic Republic (GDR) on October 7th. In 1961, East German soldiers laid down over 50 miles of barbed wire through the heart of Berlin;¹ the construction of the Berlin wall began, dividing the capital city’s families and neighborhoods across physical and ideological lines into East and West Berlin.

During the War, Allied bombing destroyed 600 acres each across 27 German cities, with Berlin and Hamburg losing over 6,000 acres each.² Allied bombing killed 600,000 German civilians, with as many civilians dying in Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden as in all of Britain.³ Alongside this, the country was accommodating the return of ethnic German refugees [*Aussiedler*],⁴ servicemen, prisoners of war, and internally displaced Germans.

The focus of post-war Germany on both Soviet- and U.S.-supported sides thus became rebuilding the country’s ruined infrastructure and economy. This took place at local and national levels, symbolically and materially. The process was evoked by propaganda images of women clearing rubble from the streets in the absence of men who died in war – the *Trümmerfrauen* or “rubble women” of the former West Germany⁵. It is in pictures of Berliners planting potato seedlings in the ruins of the burnt-down *Reichstag*, the city’s parliament building. The sentiment of the time was also echoed in the former East Germany’s national anthem – “Risen from the Ruins” [*Auferstanden aus Ruinen*].⁶



Immigration to a divided Germany and Berlin began in the context of simultaneous and competitive rebuilding of East and West. In the 1950s, the first work contracts of temporary industrial workers were signed in East Germany in the spirit of “socialist brotherhood” for “contract workers” [*Vertragsarbeiter*] from other Soviet-backed nations. In West Germany “guest workers” [*Gastarbeiter*] were taken in from southern and eastern Europe, as well as Turkey.⁷

The use of the term “guest worker” denotes the idea and policy implementation behind the introduction of migrant labor to Germany; migrants were expected to stay the duration of their work contracts—an initial period of two years for Turks to West Germany—and then leave⁸. Due to the officially temporary status of Turkish migrants, minimal support was provided in terms of learning the German language or understanding social, legal, and economic systems. For example, West German

federal naturalization guidelines declared, “The Federal Republic of Germany is not a country of immigration. It does not aspire to increase the number of its citizens through naturalization”.⁹ Expenses relating to integration into German society further discouraged immigrants from seeking this. For example, the naturalization fee in 1974 was 5000 Deutsche Marks.¹⁰ However, the cost of retraining workers when their contracts expired led to the revision of the work contract in 1964, allowing for longer durations of stay and eventually family reunifications. This led to Berlin having the biggest Turkish population outside of Turkey and Turks becoming the biggest non-European ethnic group, with around 3 million people having Turkish roots and around half of them having German citizenship as of 2017.¹¹

The Berlin Wall, in restricting East German labor from flowing to the West, helped create the circumstances for the arrival of Turkish migrants recruited to rebuild the country’s economy and infrastructure from the ruins of the Second World War. Despite racism and xenophobia, Turkish migrants, in turn, created and shaped spaces in neighborhoods often abandoned due to their proximity to the Wall. For example, the eastern part of Kreuzberg, surrounded by the Eastern border on three sides, became isolated from the traditional city center. West Berlin’s 1963 urban renewal program [*Stadterneuerungsprogramm*] also incentivized city-owned housing companies to relocate many economically better-off tenants to other parts of West Berlin, while the area’s traditional tenement housing was left unmaintained and prepared for demolition. This meant the area became taken over by those in search of cheap housing – largely students and guest-workers, many of Turkish origin.¹² Today, Kreuzberg is a central, gentrified location in reunified Berlin, and the impact of Turkish guest-workers can be seen in the area’s Turkish market as well as the

Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain Museum’s focus on Turkish-German history.

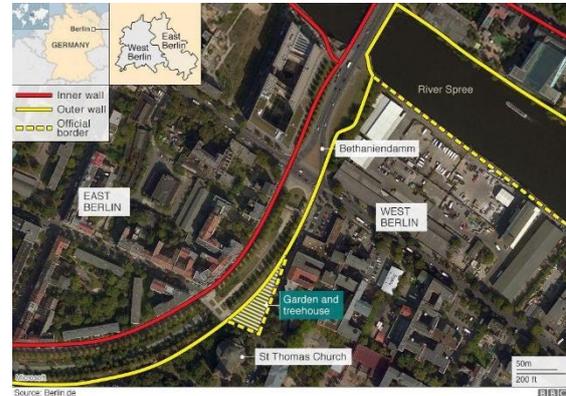
Turkish migrant constructions in the city’s landscape are relevant to the academic discourse of ruderal ecology – an anthropological perspective that questions the duality between ruins and infrastructure, examining “what it means to live with ruins”—in this case, the ruins and wastelands facilitated by (and later, *of*) the Berlin Wall. It also entails examining how capitalism, racism and nation-making embed themselves in human-environment relations.¹³ Therefore, post-war, divided Berlin and Germany are the perfect application of this perspective: this is seen when examining the wasteland-treehouse of Osman Kalin, a Turkish migrant whose labor was necessitated by the Wall and whose actions defied the German divide. The case study of Osman’s treehouse also contributes to literature examining immigrant identity, showcasing how the country of origin as well as destination influence the spaces and practices of immigrants. It also emphasizes the dilemma of memorializing immigrant-spaces that perhaps defy straightforward historical narratives.

The Baumhaus: Of Onions and Borders

According to his granddaughter Funda Kalin, when Osman Kalin, a retired Turkish guest worker, saw a vacant plot of land where people left their unwanted things—old furniture, toys, and building materials—he decided to use it to grow his own onions and garlic, then peaches and apricots.¹⁴ Eventually, he used the materials others discarded to build a small shed. Originally from the Anatolian countryside, Osman was happy to continue the tradition of gardening he had practiced back in Turkey.

Osman was building on a sort of “no-man’s-land” between East and West Berlin. This triangular rubbish-dump was technically a part of East Berlin and was supposed to have been separated from the

West by the Berlin Wall. To cut costs, the East German government had built the Wall straight across rather than curved along the lines of the actual border—leaving a piece of the East in the West where Osman had planted his garden.¹⁵



The East German border guards allowed Osman to build the Baumhaus as long as he remained three meters away from the Wall. Eventually, he befriended the Eastern border guards, who liked him because he annoyed the Western police, receiving Christmas cards and bottles of wine from them.¹⁶

He was a permanent fixture outside the treehouse until 2018 when he passed away after a ten-year struggle with dementia. Now, his son and granddaughter look after the site.¹⁷ Much of the insight into the site’s creation and significance in this paper come from interviewing Funda Kalin—Osman’s granddaughter, who is a Charlottenburg-based tattoo artist in Berlin. Knowledge of the *Baumhaus*’ history and founder enables its analysis through a faction of urban ecology that focuses on ecosystems emerging from difficult environments, migration studies, and Cresswell’s reflections on memory and place.

Theoretical lens: Ruderal Ecology

Bettina Stoetzer, in “Ruderal Ecologies: Rethinking Nature, Migration and Urban Landscape in Berlin”, cites the term ruderal as coming from the Latin word for rubble. It may describe “communities that emerge spontaneously in disturbed environments

usually considered hostile to life”,¹⁸ ranging from the cracks of sidewalks to waste disposal areas or rubble fields.

The *Baumhaus* fits the description of a ruderal site. On a purely physical basis, it used to be a garbage dump before Osman decided to clear it up and plant his garden. It was also created on a piece of land born out of the painful separation of Berliners, from geopolitical disturbance. Another characteristic of ruderal ecologies is that they are created through “the juxtaposition of contrasting environments in one ecosystem”,¹⁹ which applies to the *Baumhaus*. Its creation is on a piece of land symbolic of the contrasting Eastern and Western systems of socialism and capitalism. Even on a botanical level, the site is built on juxtaposition. On one hand, it contains the cultivated “domestic” species in Osman’s garden, and on the other hand, it has the *Götterbaum*, also known as the “tree of hell”. It is a fast-growing invasive species that Osman could never get rid of, eventually cutting further into the cabin wall to simply accommodate its growth.²⁰

Nonetheless, the *Baumhaus* demonstrates the contrast between Turkish and German cultural perspectives. Funda points out how despite being very well read on German politics, Osman didn’t understand or care for German systems of urban governance: “he just came from a very, very small village in Turkey, where you have [different] rules than in a city like Berlin, and he just took his rules and he brought them here to Berlin”.²¹ The creation of the site hence was just to fill a gap in Osman’s life; he had worked hard as a guest-worker in Berlin but “had left behind a big house and land in Yozgat, with donkeys walking around, and there he was cooped up in an apartment – he really wanted to get out and move around”.²² In this sense, the space is “neither wild nor domesticated”. Defined by its grey areas, it is neither legal nor illegal, neither an explicit compliance with

the law and the border, nor an explicit form of protest.²³

Stoetzer’s words aptly summarize the nature of the *Baumhaus* as a ruderal ecosystem that grew out of the metaphorical “crack in the wall” between East and West, contrasting plant-life, and the difference between Osman’s rural background and urban life: “Nestled in a small gap in the city’s border infrastructure, Osman Kalin’s tree house took advantage of the state’s desire to simplify and draw straight lines. Thus, the garden’s ecology filled a gap, both in Osman’s life and in the gray zones of the nation-state”.²⁴

Filling Gaps: Identity as “In-Between”

In giving an anthropological view of urban ecology, Stoetzer’s theory focuses not only on the physical urban and botanical composition of space but also on the socio-political aspect – the ruderal lens enables an examination of “the unruly heterogeneity of life in the ruins of nationalism and racialized exclusions”.²⁵ The *Baumhaus* embodies Stoetzer’s notions of heterogeneity in terms of the identities that it addresses. It is a space created by a migrant at a site that became an unexpectedly crucial part of the identity of the neighborhood at the time. The Turkish community that came to Berlin as a generation of “guest-workers” were, like Osman, from mostly conservative, rural areas, who knew no German and were not officially included in the German society through state measures – they were given no formal language training nor integration lessons.²⁶ German history, which defines, to an extent, Berlin’s landscape and identity, was intrinsically foreign to migrants. This is the case with Osman – but interestingly, the very action of creating the *Baumhaus* out of a wasteland connects him with a past he was never a part of. Forty percent of Kreuzberg, Osman’s neighborhood, was destroyed during the Second World War.²⁷ His space echoes spaces created by Berliners after the Second

World War when “rubble fields” of potato seedlings were planted in areas ruined by bombing and the idea of planting new life in rubble became part of the national imaginary. Although the context of Osman’s garden is entirely different, in trying to bring life and regeneration in a part of the city that became a wasteland, he unknowingly participated in the history of a Berliner. Like the post-war “rubble women”, and East Germany’s national anthem’s “Rising from Ruins”, Osman too embodied the post-war foundational national image of a Germany rebuilding from a wasteland. His granddaughter explains how he was an unexpected yet active participant in the pre-reunification history of the neighborhood:

...in the 80s there were a lot of punks. They didn’t like capitalism and my grandfather was also something like that but in another way. So they loved each other. They also protected each other...he called them his soldiers and they said “yeah we are your soldiers, we won’t let anything happen to you” ...it was a very intense relationship in this area.²⁸

Despite how Osman and his space were an important fixture in the neighborhood, Funda clarifies that he only ever saw himself as Turkish, as “the Lion of Yozgat”, and not as a Berliner, a West-Berliner, or a Kreuzberger.²⁹ How could Osman be so important to a scene so intrinsically German, yet not consider himself German at all? The conundrum may be exemplified in what Ayhan Kaya says in “German-Turkish Transnational Space: A Separate Space of their Own”: “Today’s Germany is no longer conceivable without the German-Turkish presence... Nor are Turks classic immigrants eager to melt in with a host culture. In close touch with both countries, German Turks are a part of the recent phenomenon of transnational space”.³⁰ Transnational space is a phenomenon arising out of syncretic

identity – the idea that identity is not divided between two cultures, with one belonging to either one or the other, but rather, that “cultural identity is a matter of becoming, rather than being” through the sociopolitical forces of migration.³¹ For example, Kaya looks at German Turks as “transmigrants” who can literally and symbolically travel back and forth between their countries of origin and destination, thus developing new identities and spaces. This is substantiated by how Funda Kalin speaks about her own identity as a Turkish-German:

...I have Turkish roots, I’m born here in Berlin, grew up here, and how I feel is...an extreme, total mix of both... and I wouldn’t say I’m German. I don’t feel German, I don’t feel Turkish...I just feel, *I* [me]. You are not at home here, you are not at home there, you are a stranger here, you are a stranger there. You are not good enough for here, you are not good enough for there. You are just always something (in) between³².

This “in-between-ness” is a facet not only of Turkish migrant identity, but Turkish migrant space as a transnational space. Funda says of the *Baumhaus*:

It’s absolutely the same as I am. It’s *extremely* something (in) between. It’s because it’s in the middle of Germany’s capital city, in the middle of Kreuzberg, and if you just take it and bring it to the village of my grandfather even there, no one would ever have a house looking like my grandfather’s house right now.

Funda’s subjective description is supplemented by Kaya’s definition of transnational space as something that encompasses more than a migrant’s country of origin and destination. Rather, transnational subjects, through their interactions with different cultures and

geographies, build something drawing from the country of origin and settlement that is inherently new and unique.³³ Osman’s story reflects syncretic identity: the treehouse being a Turkish, West-German, a creation on Eastern soil, him being friendly with both the Western punks and Eastern border guards, and the house being known as “gecekondu” in Turkish (literally meaning a house built overnight in Anatolian villages). Still the latter would not perfectly fit into Osman’s own village. As Stoetzer says of the *Baumhaus*:

Built in the shadows of a border infrastructure that divided two nations and competing political systems, it takes advantage of an abandoned gap of institutional power, unwilling to wait for its assigned place in a country where one never fully belongs. Staging a spontaneous takeover, the *gecekondu* creates a space of hospitality for people, plants, and objects left behind.³⁴

Conclusion: Commemorating the In-Between

After the fall of the Wall, the *Baumhaus* suddenly found itself at the center of a reunified city, part of the new district of Berlin-Mitte. In the eyes of the state, Osman was now a squatter on state land, and the new district office planned to evict Osman and demolish the treehouse.³⁵ The local community rallied behind Osman. The neighboring church of St. Thomas provided a 1780s map to prove the *Baumhaus* was on church land, therefore arguing that the church gave Osman the right to use this land.³⁶ Further, protests from Kreuzbergers to keep the site made officials change their minds – and the maps. The plot became part of the post-reunification district of Kreuzberg instead of Mitte. Osman Kalin thus began by defying borders in divided Berlin, ultimately reshaping them in the reunified city.³⁷

Despite the hardships that the migrants are going through, the *Baumhaus* media commemoration demonstrates a different reality. It was depicted either as an immigrant success story in Turkey, where Funda says people are immensely proud of Osman, or as a pushback against Germany’s division by a Kreuzberg-Berliner.³⁸ Funda wants to preserve the treehouse and turn it into a museum to inspire people and celebrate the fact that “in Berlin, a lot of immigrants come together, and this is the story of the city”.³⁹ For Funda to achieve her vision, however, she states that: “I have to go to people at the top of the government. And then, it becomes a project for *them*, a big project”.⁴⁰

These words reflect a dilemma in the memorialization of post-reunification landscapes: *who* gets to commemorate immigrant-built spaces, spaces created by exclusion and division, spaces that challenge historical divides, and *how*? Commemorating Osman’s legacy already entails a conflict between nation-state media, local bureaucracy, and the reality of Turkish-Germans whose success stories occur in the backdrop of ongoing struggles. The site also exemplifies the transnational pressures immigrant spaces face in how the *Baumhaus*’ possible demolition in Germany clashes with the pride it is seen with in Turkey. Lastly, making a future museum a “big project” of the government contrasts with the very interpretation of the site as a space facilitated by, yet independent of, nation-state borders. These dilemmas attest to how complicated it is to memorialize a site with multiple narratives.

This inconsistency between different narratives – none strictly false – may emphasize the definition of ruderal space as a space where “stories interrupt each other to account for material and social entanglements, gaps, displacements, leakages, and collaborative strategies of survival”.⁴¹ The *Baumhaus*, by virtue of where it stands, carries the fact of being born from a disturbance, a waste land

created by exclusion and division. In this sense, it takes the form of Stoetzer's ruderal ecosystem. It can be considered Kaya's "transnational space" in how it inhabits and exhibits both Turkish and German identity and memory while being something distinct from both. Finally, beyond its academic interpretations, the *Baumhaus* is, to Funda Kalin, simply her grandfather's treehouse and garden.

Perhaps the *Baumhaus*, as Cresswell says on place and memory, is "a new kind of place born out of a contested process of interpretation".⁴² This "new kind of place" can take multiple forms depending on the lens through which it is being examined. Whichever interpretation one chooses, the "treehouse at the Wall" showcases the active role immigrants played in writing German history, literally challenging the way we map out Berlin's past and present. The German division inadvertently created a space for Osman to continue his Turkish tradition of gardening and his space became protected by West Berliner punks. The *Baumhaus* also sheds light on the way German history and society influenced immigrant experiences and identity in the country of settlement. Osman's story fundamentally draws attention to how people and places "left behind", conventionally neglected or excluded by society, are in fact active in its

development. In a world that has become increasingly bordered and exclusive, it thus becomes crucial to examine this "new kind of place" that embodies and transgresses borders. This approach could work particularly well in locations with a history of division—for example, in Punjab, divided between India and Pakistan. A major limitation of this study is that it excludes a critical voice – that of Osman Kalin, who died just a year before the research for this paper began. In including the perspective of his granddaughter, however, an intergenerational reflection on the space and its meaning to a second-generation Turkish-German are gained.

The *Baumhaus*, in the case of divided Berlin, ultimately emphasizes the scope for future research in the field of Borderland studies by looking at currently or historically bordered spaces as sociopolitical and ecological frontiers. Further research should also focus on the dilemmas that these hybrid spaces are evoking and how these conundrums are being handled. The story of the Treehouse on the Wall shows that above all, by understanding immigrant-built spaces as complex and dynamic ecosystems, more diverse and nuanced perspectives on the construction of histories, spaces, and identities can be gained.

¹ Brown, Timothy S. "1968' East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History." *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009): 69–96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30223644>., pp.59

² Werrell, Kenneth P. "The Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II: Costs and Accomplishments." *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (1986): 702–13. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1902984>., pp. 709

³ Werrell, Kenneth P. "The Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II: Costs and Accomplishments." *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (1986):

702–13. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1902984>., pp. 709

⁴ This term refers to people of German origin who lived in Eastern European countries prior to 1945, either as German nationals in areas under Nazi German jurisdiction or as ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. By the early 1950s, around 12 million ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe had immigrated to East and West Germany as well as Austria (Münz Rainer and Ralf E Ulrich, *Changing Patterns of Migration to Germany, 1945-1997*, *Open WorldCat* (Berkeley: Center for German and European Studies, 1998),

[https://www.worldcat.org/title/changing-patterns-of-migration-to-germany-1945-1997/oclc/40780392.](https://www.worldcat.org/title/changing-patterns-of-migration-to-germany-1945-1997/oclc/40780392))

⁵ Matthew Stibbe, Mythos Trümmerfrauen: Von der Trümmerbeseitigung in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit und der Entstehung eines deutschen Erinnerungsortes, by Leonie Treber, *The English Historical Review*, Volume 131, Issue 550, June 2016, Pages 720–

725, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cew114>, pp. 720

⁶ Lachmund, Jens. “Exploring the City of Rubble: Botanical Fieldwork in Bombed Cities in Germany after World War II.” *Osiris* 18 (2003): 234–54.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3655294>., pp.239

⁷ Kaya, Asiye. “Special Issue: The Fiftieth Anniversary of Migration from Turkey to Germany. Introduction: (Re)Considering the Last Fifty Years of Migration and Current Immigration Policies in Germany.” *German Politics & Society* 31, no. 2 (107) (2013): 1–12.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43917437>., pp. 2-3

⁸ Kaya, Asiye. “Special Issue: The Fiftieth Anniversary of Migration from Turkey to Germany. Introduction: (Re)Considering the Last Fifty Years of Migration and Current Immigration Policies in Germany.” *German Politics & Society* 31, no. 2 (107) (2013): 1–12.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43917437>., pp. 3

⁹ Douglas B. Klusmeyer and Demetrios G. Papademetrios, *Immigration Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany* (New York, 2009), 86-87

¹⁰ Kaya, Asiye. “Special Issue: The Fiftieth Anniversary of Migration from Turkey to Germany. Introduction: (Re)Considering the Last Fifty Years of Migration and Current Immigration Policies in Germany.” *German Politics & Society* 31, no. 2 (107) (2013): 1–12.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43917437>., pp. 3

¹¹ Deutsche Welle, “German Turks Still Rooted in the East: Study | DW | 24.07.2018,” DW.COM, July 24, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/german-turks-still-rooted-in-the-east-study/a-44799929>.

¹² Hanno Hochmuth (2017) The return of Berlin-Kreuzberg. Brought back from the margins by memory, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 25:4, 470-480, DOI: 10.1080/14782804.2017.1361817, pp.471

¹³ Stoetzer, Bettina. “Ruderal Ecologies: Rethinking Nature, Migration, and the Urban Landscape in Berlin.” *Cultural Anthropology* 33, no. 2 (May 21, 2018), PP. 295

¹⁴ Funda Kalin, Personal Interview, interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

¹⁵ Elaine Chong, “My Daring Grandfather Took a Bit of East Berlin for Himself,” *BBC News*, July 2, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-44601030>.

¹⁶ Chong, “My Daring Grandfather Took a Bit of East Berlin for Himself”, *BBC News*.

¹⁷ Chong, “My Daring Grandfather Took a Bit of East Berlin for Himself”, *BBC News*.

¹⁸ Bettina Stoetzer, “Ruderal Ecologies: Rethinking Nature, Migration, and the Urban Landscape in Berlin,” *Cultural Anthropology* 33, no. 2 (May 21, 2018): 295–323,

<https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.2.09>., 297

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Chong, “My Daring Grandfather Took a Bit of East Berlin for Himself”, *BBC News*.

²¹ Funda Kalin, Personal Interview, interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

²² Ibid

²³ Stoetzer, “Ruderal Ecologies”, 297

²⁴ Stoetzer, “Ruderal Ecologies”, 297

²⁵ Ibid, 308

²⁶ Matthias Bartsch, Andrea Brandt, and Daniel Steinvorth, “Turkish Immigration to Germany: A Sorry History of Self-

Deception and Wasted Opportunities,” SPIEGEL ONLINE (SPIEGEL ONLINE, September 7, 2010), <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/turkish-immigration-to-germany-a-sorry-history-of-self-deception-and-wasted-opportunities-a-716067.html>.

²⁷ Hanno Hochmuth (2017) The return of Berlin-Kreuzberg. Brought back from the margins by memory, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 25:4, 470-480, DOI: 10.1080/14782804.2017.1361817, pp.470

²⁸ Kalin, Personal Interview

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Ayhan Kaya, “German-Turkish Transnational Space: A Separate Space of Their Own,” *German Studies Review* 30, no. 3 (2007): 483–502, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27668369>., 483

³¹ Ibid, 485

³² Kalin, Personal Interview

³³ Kaya, “German-Turkish Transnational Space”, 485

³⁴ Stoetzer, “Ruderal Ecologies”, 308-309

³⁵ Chong, “My Daring Grandfather Took a Bit of East Berlin for Himself”, *BBC News*.

³⁶ Kalin, Personal Interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

³⁷ Kalin, Personal Interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

³⁸ Kalin, Personal Interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

³⁹ Funda Kalin, Personal Interview, interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

⁴⁰ Kalin, Personal Interview interview by Diya Radhakrishna, December 11, 2019.

⁴¹ Stoetzer, “Ruderal Ecologies”, 309

⁴² Tim Creswell, *Working with Place -- Creating Places. Place: An Introduction*, Chichester: (Wiley & Sons, 2014), 115–64., 125